

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 102129  
ORIGIN SS-25

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DRAFTED BY EUR/SE:NCLEDSKY:VSS  
APPROVED BY C:MNIMETZ  
EUR:REB  
S/S:SGOLDSMITH  
S:DSPIEGEL

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 102129

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, TU

SUBJECT: TURKISH AMBASSADOR'S MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY

1. TURKISH AMBASSADOR ESENBEL CALLED ON THE SECRETARY MAY 4 UNDER INSTRUCTIONS TO COMPLAIN ABOUT ADMINISTRATION'S POSITION ON TURKISH-US SECURITY RELATIONSHIP. ESENBEL SAID HE HAD JUST RETURNED FROM ANKARA WHERE HE HAD LENGTHY CONVERSATION WITH PRIME MINISTER DEMIREL. DEMIREL HAD ASKED HIM TO SEE THE SECRETARY TO EMPHASIZE THAT US DECISION TO ENDORSE TURKISH-US DCA IN PRINCIPLE WAS NOT SATISFACTORY. THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT HAD LONG SOUGHT TO CONTAIN ANTI-AMERICANISM AND TO KEEP ALIVE US-TURKISH FRIENDSHIP AND DEFENSE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO  
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COUNTRIES WITHIN NATO. THIS POSTURE WAS INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT FOR TURKEY TO MAINTAIN, AND THE US DECISION NOT TO URGE IMMEDIATE CONGRESSIONAL ACTION ON TURKISH-US DCA WAS MOST UNFORTUNATE. DEMIREL SAID HE BELIEVED US ENDORSEMENT, IN PRINCIPLE, MUST BE FOLLOWED AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE BY ACTION IN THE CONGRESS. ESENBEL SAID THAT DEMIREL WOULD TAKE SAME APPROACH WHEN HE MEETS PRESIDENT

IN LONDON ON MAY 10.

2. ESENBEL ALSO EXPRESSED UNHAPPINESS, ON PERSONAL BASIS, WITH ADMINISTRATION'S FAILURE TO MOVE AGGRESSIVELY TO HAVE

CONGRESS LIFT FMS EMBARGO ON SALES TO TURKEY. CLIFFORD RECOMMENDATIONS HAD BEEN REDUCED TO EXEMPTION FOR F-4'S, AND EVEN THIS MODEST STEP WAS BEING UNDERMINED IN CONGRESS BY FAILURE OF STATE DEPT TO SPEAK OUT FORCEFULLY. ESENBEL SAID HE HAD SPOKEN TO BOTH CONGRESSMEN HAMILTON AND ZABLOCKI WHO FELT THAT CONGRESS WOULD LIFT FMS EMBARGO IF ADMINISTRATION STRONGLY SUPPORTED SUCH A STEP.

3. SECRETARY AND COUNSELOR NIMETZ RECALLED TO ESENBEL THAT BEGINNING WITH VISIT TO ANKARA OF CLARK CLIFFORD IN FEBRUARY, ADMINISTRATION HAD NEVER INDICATED THAT IT COULD DO MORE INITIALLY THAN ENDORSE DCA IN PRINCIPLE. FURTHER ACTION CLEARLY DEPENDED ON MOVEMENT ON CYPRUS, AND IN THIS AREA THE SECRETARY AGAIN EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT WITH RECENT TURKISH PERFORMANCE IN VIENNA.

4. ESENBEL INTERJECTED AT THIS POINT THAT WHILE TURKISH GOVERNMENT WAS AWARE OF US POSITION, HIS INSTRUCTIONS WERE TO INDICATE TURKISH UNHAPPINESS WITH FAILURE OF ADMINISTRATION TO MOVE FOR EARLY CONGRESSIONAL ACTION ON DCA AND TO EXPLAIN THAT ENDORSEMENT IN PRINCIPLE OF THIS DOCUMENT MEANS VERY LITTLE TO TURKEY.

5. CONVERSATION THEN SHIFTED TO CONGRESSIONAL SITUATION  
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WITH RESPECT TO F-4'S. SECRETARY EXPLAINED THAT ADMINISTRATION STOOD BY POSITION OUTLINED BY COUNSELOR NIMETZ TO HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE TWO WEEKS AGO, BUT THAT CONGRESS "WORKS ITS OWN WILL" AND THAT FURTHER CHANGES ON THE HILL MIGHT BE MADE IN TURKISH PACKAGE. NIMETZ EMPHASIZED THAT IMPORTANT THING WAS NOT TO LOOK AT DAILY ZIGS AND ZAGS OF CONGRESSIONAL ACTION, BUT TO LONG-TERM US-TURKISH RELATIONSHIP WHICH ADMINISTRATION WAS WORKING TO STABILIZE AND STRENGTHEN. WE WERE COMMITTED TO THIS GOAL. ADMINISTRATION ALSO STRONGLY SUPPORTED F-4 PROGRAM, AND WOULD WORK WITH TURKISH GOVERNMENT TO FIND MEANS FOR CARRYING IT FORWARD.

6. THE CONVERSATION CLOSED WITH SECRETARY INDICATING THAT HE AND PRESIDENT WERE LOOKING FORWARD TO MEETING WITH TURKISH PRIME MINISTER AND FOREIGN MINISTER IN LONDON.

7. FOR ANKARA. IN EXPLAINING F-4 SITUATION TO TURKISH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, EMBASSY MAY DRAW ON FOLLOWING

POINTS:

A. CONGRESSIONAL ATTITUDES TOWARD MILITARY ASSISTANCE IN GENERAL CONTINUE TO BE NEGATIVE. HOUSE AND SENATE ALTERED AND CUT BACK ADMINISTRATION PROPOSALS FOR SECURITY

ASSISTANCE IN MANY AREAS. FUNDS FOR KOREA, ZAIRE, AND FOR OTHER SECURITY ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS WERE ELIMINATED OR CURTAILED. TURKEY WAS NOT IN ANY SENSE SINGLED OUT FOR SPECIAL ADVERSE TREATMENT BY CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES.

B. IT WAS OUR BEST ESTIMATE THAT THE ENTIRE TURKISH AID PACKAGE AS SUBMITTED TO CONGRESS COULD NOT BE PASSED. RATHER THAN RUN THE RISK OF DEFEAT WHICH WOULD NOT LOOK GOOD IN TURKEY AND WHICH MIGHT HAVE SET BACK OUR MUTUAL EFFORTS TO STEADILY IMPROVE OUR RELATIONSHIP, THE ADMINISTRATION DECIDED NOT TO MAKE A MAJOR BATTLE ON THE F-4  
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ISSUE AS IT WAS THE ELEMENT MOST LIKELY TO AROUSE CONTROVERSY.

C. EVEN TURKEY'S STAUNCHEST FRIENDS IN CONGRESS NEVER HAVE UNDERSTOOD WHY A LEGISLATIVE BATTLE HAD TO BE FOUGHT OVER THE F-4 PROGRAM WHEN THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT COULD OBTAIN THE AIRCRAFT IT DESIRED THROUGH A COMMERCIAL CONTRACT. THE F-4 PROBLEM WAS ALSO EXTREMELY TECHNICAL AND DIFFICULT TO EXPLAIN IN A LEGISLATIVE SETTING. IT SEEMED PREFERABLE NOT TO RISK A FIGHT OVER TURKISH AID ON A TECHNICAL RATHER THAN SUBSTANTIVE ISSUE.

D. THE ADMINISTRATION IS CONVINCED OF THE VITAL IMPORTANCE OF THE US-TURKISH SECURITY RELATIONSHIP. ITS ENDORSEMENT OF THE DCA IN PRINCIPLE, ITS REQUEST FOR DOLS 175 MILLION IN FMS AUTHORITY FOR FY 78 IS PROOF OF THIS, AS IS OUR DETERMINATION TO WORK TOWARD A STEADY GENERAL IMPROVEMENT OF US-TURKISH RELATIONS.

E. THE ADMINISTRATION IS ALSO COMMITTED TO SUPPORTING THE F-4 MODERNIZATION PROGRAM FOR THE TURKISH ARMED FORCES. MOREOVER, AFTER THE RECENT DISCUSSIONS MANY IN CONGRESS NOW APPRECIATE TURKEY'S F-4 REQUIREMENT. WE STAND READY TO EXPLORE WITH TURKISH AUTHORITIES WAYS TO KEEP THE PROGRAM GOING, WITH AS MUCH OF IT UNDER FMS AS POSSIBLE, AND WE ARE HOPEFUL ALL ELEMENTS OF THE CONGRESS WILL BE SUPPORTIVE OF SUCH A NON-LEGISLATIVE MIXED FMS/COMMERCIAL SOLUTION.

8. PARAS 1 THROUGH 6 ABOVE BASED ON UNCLEARED MEMCON AND ARE SUBJECT TO CHANGE. VANCE

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